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8 *local industry and trade:*

LIVESTOCK

231 [669] [454] [233] There is relatively little livestock in Tepoztlán and most of it is of poor quality. The Revolution of 1910–20 saw the destruction of practically all domestic animals in Tepoztlán, and present herds have been slowly and painfully acquired since then.[1] Tepoztecans, because of their experience during the Revolution, still view investment in cattle as precarious, and they invest only as a steppingstone to the acquisition of land or as a secondary source of investment. It should be noted, however, that cattle raising was never an important industry in Tepoztlán and never became well integrated in the local economy. Topographical conditions and climate in the municipio are not conducive to large-scale stock raising. The land is steep, rocky, and forested; the little level land is used for agriculture. During the dry season, which begins in December, pasture becomes progressively scarce and by March the cattle are excessively thin. In these months, herds are generally reduced by fifteen to twenty per cent.

The care given to cattle is minimal. For the most part, cattle graze on the communal lands and in the cornfields after the harvest. Only milk cows, plow-oxen, and pack mules and horses are given fodder, such as hay or sesame plants, poor corn, and sugar cane stalks brought by Tepoztecans who work on near-by haciendas. [232] Occasionally they are given salt to keep them "tame," and almost any disease or sign of ill health is treated with a mixture of vinegar, lemon, and *sal de nitro*. Hoof and mouth disease is treated with applications of iodine to the affected parts, a cure which Tepoztecans claim gives excellent results.

231 685 Care of animals in Tepoztlán consists mostly of guarding them against the danger of being lost or stolen. A great deal of time is spent in watching livestock, irrespective of whether the family owns only one or two animals or a herd of thirty or forty. Cattle stealing is frequent and is one of the hazards of cattle raising. Some families have lost over twenty-five head of cattle in a few years. It is said

[1] Only a few families managed to escape with their animals to southern Guerrero.

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that cattle stealing increases markedly before important fiestas, particularly before the Carnaval in February, the fiesta of Ixcatepec in April, the celebration of the national holidays in August, and All Saints' Day on November first. Cattle thieves are shot on sight, and each year a few are killed.

It is estimated that the families who own considerable cattle spend approximately 140 days during the year in caring for them. A rough estimate of the distribution of the time, based on interviews with a few cattle owners, follows:

Month	*Days Spent Guarding Cattle*
January	8
February	8
March	8
April	12
May	12
June	4
July	4
August	15
September	30
October	31
November	4
December	4
Total	140

Although cattle and other livestock are an important supplementary source of income, animal ownership is on a small scale and is limited to a relatively small proportion of families. Table 39 presents the distribution of cattle, oxen, horses, mules, donkeys, and hogs among families in each of the barrios.

It can be seen that only 179, or 21 per cent, of the families own cattle. Well over 50 per cent of these families own between one and three cows; about 40 per cent own four to ten cows. The largest herd in 1943 was a little over seventy head, although estimates obtained in 1947 showed much larger herds, with the two wealthiest cattlemen having about 150 head each. There are only about a dozen men in the village who might be said to raise cattle on a large scale, and only six of these have herds of over fifty.

The ownership of oxen is limited to 177, or 20 per cent of the families. Of these, only two families own more than one team of oxen. The low percentage of families owning a team of oxen indicates the limited extent to which Tepoztecan farmers own one of the basic means of production.

The distribution of horses, donkeys, and mules owned by families in the proportions of 28 per cent, 11 per cent, and 14 per cent, respectively, reflects the local evaluation of work animals. Mules are more popular than donkeys, and horses are valued more highly than either. Riding horses as against work horses are considered

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Children tend to be preoccupied with food. Food was a recurrent theme in all the psychological tests, and boys particularly seem to think and talk about food a good deal. In the written themes, boys and girls invariably mentioned that they liked their parents because they provided them with food and other necessities, that they liked certain relatives because they gave them good things to eat, and that they liked fiestas because then they could eat *mole*. Many said that the worst thing that had ever happened to them was when their mothers did not have money to make *mole* or some other favorite dish. Boys wrote that they wanted to marry someone who was a good cook, and the thing they liked best about their mothers was that they cooked well. Thematic apperception stories also contained a good deal about food. 261 159

Boys, more than girls, tend to be fussy about food, although they like the food that makes up the family daily fare and do not refuse to eat it. They are sensitive about the order in which they are served, the size of their portion, the way in which the food is cooked, and the manner in which it is given to them. Eldest sons or favorite sons easily become angry and sometimes throw down their food, plate and all, or refuse to eat. In this they follow the pattern of their fathers who do the same thing when they are angry. 261 865

Girls may cry quietly or throw their food to the animals if they are not pleased with what they are given, but most often they suppress their feelings. The tendency of mothers to serve larger portions and choicer food to their favorite child is a source of quarrels and resentment. Many mothers give more food to the younger children because "the others are already big and the little ones need it more." On the other hand, grown sons who work are given more food than children still in school. Some children complain that their mothers do not cook well, and we know of a few cases in which the mother neglects to prepare meals from time to time. Food is also withheld as a punishment. Taking food without permission is called stealing and is punished. Despite this, children frequently steal food, and some mothers say that they cannot leave even a bit of sugar without it disappearing. Children also now commonly beg for food or for centavos to buy candy or fruit. 865 858 578 861 685

Tepoztecans tend to be secretive about food. Women do not discuss with each other what their families are going to eat that day nor what they bought at the market. Market baskets are generally kept carefully covered from prying eyes. There is also some fear of food sorcery, and, except for fiesta meals, Tepoztecans prefer to eat within the safety of their own homes. One family, in which the young son attends school daily in Cuernavaca, complained that he must eat cold, stiff tortillas and cold beans for lunch. When asked why he doesn't eat at one of the many inexpensive restaurants the mother answered that it would be dangerous because someone might "put something in his food." Persons who have known enemies will generally not accept food from anyone outside their own household. 261 754

Tepoztecans, like most other Mexicans, believe that food can be classified into two types, hot and cold (which has no relationship to temperature), and that under certain conditions only one or the other type should be eaten. In general, cold foods 261 262

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[1941-1942]

the municipal slaughterhouse. The authorities took the corpse to the Town Hall for identification, because birds of prey had already mutilated the face and part of the body. The investigations began, and finally it was known that Córdova had been murdered inside the slaughterhouse and his body thrown into the ravine. 175 646 682

At that time there was also an investigation going on in the office of the undersecretary of the Ministerio Público for cattle stealing. It was discovered that the lost animals had been slaughtered in the municipal slaughterhouse, and that the animals had been stolen by the same persons who had murdered Córdova because he was trying to discover the thieves. The council aided Córdova's family with burial and what was necessary to settle a few other expenses. The council proceeded to call the alternate for the comptroller's office, to take charge of the post which Córdova had been filling. [685]

In a short time the cement necessary for the paving of the public gardens was bought. Only half of the job could be done, and this only with the councillors giving a part of their pay. An additional sum of fifty pesos, which had been given by a woman toward the pipe line for drinking water, also went into the paving of the public gardens and the fixing of benches. The president, on leaving his post, got into a suit over this fifty pesos; the people said he had stolen it. 175 646 663

ADMINISTRATION OF 1943–44

On the first of January, 1943, the only candidates who had taken part in the elections of the first Sunday in December were inaugurated: Municipal President, Emilio Martínez; Comptroller, Benito Vargas; and Attorney General, Carlos Quiroz. In the first council meeting they decided to increase the taxes of the township for the purpose of town improvements. All those who take office as presidents are always eager to improve their town. The council in agreement with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, who had some funds for the development of the forests, took those funds and bought the necessary cement and sand to finish the paving of the public gardens. And the work was finished in a few weeks. [666] [652] [367] [653]

There came a fiesta at which people drank too much, and as this municipal president, Emilio Martínez, had many friends, who were constantly inviting him to have a drink, he drank all that day. When evening came and it was getting dark, he was completely drunk. Upon getting into the bus he met another man who was also far gone, and they started a commotion. They went from words to blows and from blows to kicks. When Martínez saw the other man stretched out, he began to kick him until his relatives and the police intervened. Of course, the man was taken to jail, and although he had received the blows from Martínez, he was fined five pesos. 175 646 661

Martínez had a son who was completing his military service. In a short time stories began to circulate to the effect that young Mexican men were going to be sent to war, which was then at its height. Undoubtedly they hinted this to Martínez. According to the story they tell, he organized a band of bad fellows, and on the Sunday when his son was en route to the barracks this band attacked the vehicle in which he was riding. Martínez claimed that his son had been kidnapped by bandits, but the matter did not end there. The state governor gave orders to the chief of the judicial police, and one day when Martínez was in the city he was apprehended and taken to the state penitentiary at the disposition of the governor of the state. As soon as the other members of the council learned that Martínez was being held in prison, they called the comptroller, as was provided in the law, to take the office of municipal president for seventy days. The comp

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each of the barrios, as well as of some of the villages, are appealed to for rain. All the images are shut up in the parish church and are taken out in procession only in the afternoon when the sun is high, so that the images will feel the heat and notice the people's discomfort and sadness.

The saints with greater punishing powers are most assiduously worshipped. Saint Peter, of the barrio of San Pedro, is one of these. If there are not enough dancers at his feast day, he brings illness and misfortune to those who did not participate. Saint Peter, whose image is accompanied by a lion, is said to use this animal to frighten children into dancing for him and sometimes to appear to a father who has refused to permit his children to dance. It is also believed that if a person does not accept the office of *mayordomo* of the barrio of San Pedro, the lion will be sent to frighten him.

In their view of the saints, Tepoztecans reveal a tendency toward polytheism. This is indicated in the distinct attitudes toward the different images of the same saint. For example, the various local figures of Christ do not all have equal powers and are not all worshipped with equal fervor. The Christ of Ixcatepec is considered "very miraculous" and is called upon when there is great misfortune, such as extreme drought. He is rendered special homage by taking children, dressed in white tunics and wearing a crown of thorns and little thorn crosses on their backs, to the chapel of Ixcatepec to do penance.

The conception of the soul will be discussed in Chapter 19, "Old Age and Death." Here it should be noted that Tepoztecans distinguish between the body, the soul, and the spirit in the following way: "The body serves us for all our needs, to satisfy our necessities," and "The soul is that which gives life to the body and which will be punished in the other life according to our sins."

When a sin is committed, "The body is not at fault, it is the soul which rules." The spirit guards the body and soul from all that is bad, it is the Guardian Angel, "like a dove, like a pigeon, but invisible." The spirit is the companion of the soul and gives it strength. "That is why when a person is not brave, he has little spirit."

The question of sin does not overly concern Tepoztecans. Sin is inevitable, for "we are all sinners." It comes as "malice" enters a person and as innocence leaves, it comes with knowledge of life, with sexuality, with loss of virginity or purity. Malice can be delayed by keeping children in ignorance, but sooner or later they will become sinners. However, sinners are differentiated according to the degree of their sin, so that there are good sinners and bad sinners.

Sins, too, vary in degree. To the Tepoztecan, lying, adultery, and failure to attend Mass, to take communion, to confess, or to celebrate feast days are without importance as sins. The Ten Commandments and other fundamental rules of conduct imposed by the Catholic Church do not control the behavior of the Tepoztecan. For him the most important sins are stealing, killing, and practicing witchcraft. These acts are also differentiated in degree of gravity.

In the case of theft there is a wide range of permissible stealing which is not considered sinful. Thus, it is no sin to steal the roof tiles, or the hearthstones, or the

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673 783 685 religious images of a temporarily abandoned house; "that is not a sin, that was abandoned, and it would be worse if it were lost." When someone's pig is run down by an automobile on the highway, the neighbors quickly come with knives and cut away the best portions of meat; this is no sin "since it is the custom of the people." But if one steals the growing corn, or corn after the harvest, or money —"that is really a great sin." Who does the stealing and from whom he steals also determine the degree of the sin. When cattle are stolen from a fellow villager it is a serious matter, cattle stolen by an outsider even more so, but cattle stolen by a Tepoztecan from a non-Tepoztecan is an act of minor importance. Thus, a young man whose father had died, and whose mother had lost most of their property to lawyers, supported himself by stealing cattle in places distant from Tepoztlán. He would go away for several weeks and return with cattle which he sold in the village or used in the fields. He is generally respected and considered *honrado*, although his actions are well known. "Since the poor fellow lost his inheritance, he sometimes goes out of Tepoztlán to struggle with the cattle of others."

While we were in the village, a highly respected person, prominent in state politics, was accused of having stolen a Zebu bull from a national experimental farm. The townspeople were impressed by his astuteness and did not take the attitude that he had done anything sinful or reprehensible.

673 783 [682] In regard to killing, Tepoztecans also distinguish between excusable and inexcusable murders. If "one is like an assassin who kills in cold blood and for mere pleasure," it is a sin. But if one kills for some purpose, it is another matter. To kill a mortal enemy without warning is not a sin since the killer "only got ahead of the dead man" and took advantage of his carelessness. The shooting of a thief or suspected thief on sight is another type of justified killing.

[683] Sorcery and witchcraft of any kind are great sins. Those who practice these "devil's arts" are certain to be punished after death, but they are left unmolested while they live and may be consulted by fellow villagers for cures or for advice in bewitching others.

[684] 562 Adultery is considered a sin only for women, but here again certain cases are excused. For example, "When a man demands good food at home and doesn't give the money to buy it, then he is forcing his wife to look for other men," and since he is the cause of the adultery or if he permits it, it is not a serious matter.

[683] 562 Calumny, criticism, and gossip are special sins of women, but drunkenness on the part of men is not considered a sin.

[273] Other beliefs held by Tepoztecans which are of interest are those of *Naguales*, *los aires*, omens, healers, witches, and sorcerers.

754 [825] The *Nagual* is a person who has the power to change into an animal, such as a dog or pig. This ancient belief is widely known in Tepoztlán but is considered to be dying out. Informants alluded to *Naguales* as beings of the past, as no longer existing, or, at least, no longer wishing to show themselves. To become a *Nagual*, one must make a pact with the devil and learn certain prayers which allow a man to turn into an animal. Other prayers take away the powers of a *Nagual* and make

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tudes toward sex and sexuality. Most of the attitudes toward sex are negative and prudish and, at least superficially, in accord with Catholic tradition.

Women have a negative attitude toward bearing children. They try to keep the number of pregnancies to a minimum by long nursing and by abstaining from sexual intercourse. Pregnancy is commonly described as "being ill with child," and pregnant women are embarrassed by their condition and make every attempt to conceal it. There is an absence of sexual play between husbands and wives; many women refer to the sex act as "the abuse by the man," and the genitals are generally considered ugly or dirty. There is a widespread belief among adolescent girls that sexual intercourse is painful. Open courtship is not sanctioned, and girls are severely punished for having any relations with boys. The existence of the double standard and the greater personal freedom of boys and men tend to encourage male sexuality. Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown; romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken. Courtship is an intriguing, exciting pastime but it is always cautious, seldom impulsive or passionate.

It cannot be said, however, that Tepoztecans are puritanical, nor are they burdened with feelings of guilt or concepts of sexuality as something sinful.[4] Rather, Tepoztecans place greater value upon sexual restraint than upon sexual activity; just as they do not encourage emotional expressiveness, so do they not encourage active sexuality. Adult sexual activity is discouraged, not so much for reasons of morality but for practical reasons of safety. Parents fear that a young son may make an undesirable attachment with a widow or a dangerous attachment with a married woman, or he may be bewitched by a jealous sweetheart; they fear even more strongly that their daughter will lose her good reputation and the chance of a respectable marriage. Women are generally reluctant to have sexual relations, because of unwanted pregnancies; men discourage sexuality in their wives for fear of being humiliated by the wife's unfaithfulness; wives fear the loss of income and the poor treatment which inevitably attend their husband's extramarital alliances.

While there is much gossip, there is no ostracism or public denouncement or persecution of those who are guilty of sexual indiscretion. The couple living in free union is unmolested, the promiscuous widow maintains her usual relations with neighbors and kin, the illegitimate child is given a similar if not entirely equal position in his mother's household and may receive aid and inheritance

[4] The relative absence of guilt feelings can also be seen in the reactions to stealing and drinking. Drinking is not considered bad in itself, but may be criticized because it takes a man away from his work and takes money which may be sorely needed for other purposes. Stealing is quite frequent and may be severely punished, but it is detection rather than the act itself which is disturbing. In case histories, informants frequently refer to little stealing episodes without any manifestation of remorse or guilt, but emphasize how ashamed they were when discovered. Men do not appear to have guilt in promiscuous sexual relations with women or in deceiving young girls. Rather, they are proud of these feats and consider any conquest to their credit. There is also practically no sense of moral responsibility toward children born out of wedlock.

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ing the individual is becoming more and more limited, it still offers a relative degree of security, especially in times of serious trouble.

In a more vague way, there is also a certain amount of security felt within the barrio and within the village as a whole in comparison to the world outside. The consciousness of Tepoztecans of being in a position of relative power and superiority over the rest of the municipio has made for local pride and a feeling of unity which also foster a sense of individual security. In contrast, the population of the surrounding villages suffers from a chronic feeling of injustice and exploitation at the hands of the village of Tepoztlán.

Tepoztecans also seek security through privacy. The withdrawal and personal detachment noted earlier, as well as a fear of intimacy, are characteristic of a majority of Tepoztecans. The man who speaks little, keeps his affairs to himself, and maintains some distance between himself and others has less chance of creating enemies or of being criticized or envied. A man does not generally discuss his plans to buy or sell or take a trip, except with persons who are directly concerned. A woman does not customarily tell a neighbor or even a relative that she is going to have a baby or make a new dress or prepare something special for dinner.

If an accident occurs to another's property, few hasten to inform the owner, who may not discover it until it is a total loss. In one case, a widow's pig was killed by a bus. Although it was known that she was the owner, no one told her about the accident. By the time she learned of it, most of the meat had been cut away by nearby residents, and she was left with only the head and tail.

There is greater readiness to commiserate in another's misfortune than to take joy in his success, resulting in a more widespread sharing of bad news than good. There is an almost secretive attitude toward good fortune, and boasting is at a minimum. People in Tepoztlán do not ordinarily advise each other where a good purchase or sale is to be made, how an animal can be cured, or in what ways a crop may be improved. Articles and market baskets carried through the streets are kept carefully covered from prying eyes. Although matters of illness and health are often a topic of conversation, there is reluctance to recommend a good remedy or *curandero*. In general, there is an absence of altruism, generosity, charity, and the spirit of sharing. Doing favors for others is rare and creates suspicion. Favors are generally associated with people *de cultura* who, it is said, do favors to get favors.

When young people or children show kindness or pity to outsiders they are frequently "corrected" by their mothers. Children are scolded for giving things to their friends or for being trusting and generous in lending articles to persons outside the family. Children or others who expect sympathy and help are called fools and are derided. It is attitudes such as these which daily reinforce the Tepoztecan's harsh view of life and throw him upon his own resources.

Security is sought through respect and the extension of respect-relationships. By respect, Tepoztecans mean an appreciation or recognition of high status as demonstrated by the use of the respectful *Vd.*, by the avoidance of intimacy or undue familiarity, joking, and discussions of sex or other subjects of intimate nature. A